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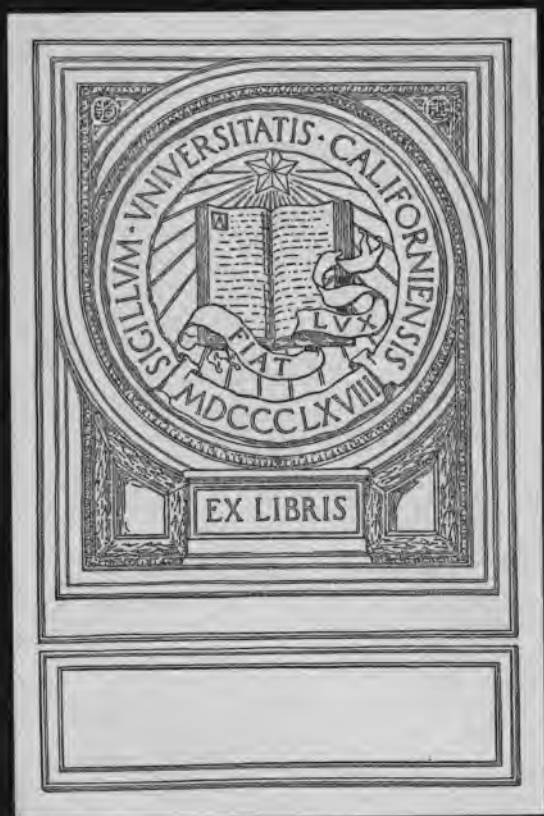
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SPEECH  
OF  
T. G. CARY,  
ON THE  
Use of the Credit of the State  
FOR THE  
HOOSAC TUNNEL,

In the Senate of Massachusetts,

MAY, 18, 1853.

(PUBLISHED TO CORRECT A WRONG AND INJURIOUS IMPRESSION  
THAT HAS BEEN GIVEN OF WHAT WAS SAID ON THE SUBJECT.)

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

EXTRACTS FROM A SPEECH, MADE ON ANOTHER OCCASION, CON-  
TAINING SOME ACCOUNT OF THE WEALTH AND CAPITALISTS  
OF BOSTON, APPLICABLE TO QUESTIONS CONSIDERED IN  
THE DEBATE ON THE TUNNEL.

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## S P E E C H.

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MR. PRESIDENT,—

IN offering what I have to say, I am desirous to consult the wishes of the friends of the petitioners as to the time of presenting my views; and that they may judge of this, I state distinctly, now, that I am opposed to the passage of the bill before us. It is not my design to raise new doubts about the means of making tunnels, where a tunnel is wanted; nor to cast ridicule on the machine that is supposed to be successfully invented for this purpose. But I expect to show that if the tunnel can be completed within five years, as is said, and for the sum proposed,—two millions of dollars,—it will be found, then, that it can lead to no important result either to the City of Boston or the State at large.

Still, I should be very well pleased to vote for the bill if I could do so with propriety; and I propose to state my reasons for opposition at this early stage of the debate, that they may be considered in the discussion, and if they can be answered, I shall be found to be a willing convert. I particularly desire to be enlightened, if I am in error; for few things would give me greater pleasure, Sir, than to accompany my friend, the Senator from Franklin, if we could be convinced that we ought to grant the aid desired, and go with him among the farmers and manufacturers of the north-western portion of the State, to carry the cheering news that their wishes were to be gratified. For, Sir, I have old associations with that region; not so much within the border of the State as beyond it, in Vermont, where I should still be recognized as a member of the bar of Windham, having resided there for a short period in early life, but long enough to be known in legal practice and to direct the building of a well-known bridge over

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what is called, in language descriptive of the mountainous range which we are desired to penetrate, one of the "touchy streams" that empty into the Connecticut. I know the waters of the Hoosac and the Deerfield, and something of the grazing and farming country in which they rise as well as of the fertile plains to which they descend. It would afford me satisfaction to be instrumental in promoting prosperity there; and I have another motive, of similar nature, to look with all possible favor on the plan proposed. I have been a Director in the Vermont and Massachusetts Railroad, which it is proposed shall make the continuation of the new line and share largely in the profitable business that it is supposed we are to develop; having, through the associations alluded to, been urged to take that position by some of my old friends. I look with sorrow on the depressed state of the stock in that road, as the result of all our efforts in the direction; although I do not perceive, on a review of the whole, that we could have done any thing much better than we did, and I should be really happy to give it a favorable impulse; for, to use the apt expression of the counsel for the petitioners, it has suffered, I think, from "unkind legislation." I do not, to be sure, believe that the tunnel would remove its greatest troubles; and those who were with me in the direction will remember that I have heretofore earnestly protested against the use of any of its means to aid this project, beyond the sum of \$1,800, expended for a general survey of the country near the Hoosac; but in some degree that road would, no doubt, be benefited if the tunnel should be made. I am ready, therefore, to yield the floor to others, or proceed now, as may be preferred by the friends of the bill.

[A wish was here expressed that all objections should be stated at once. But as the hour for adjournment was at hand, the discussion was postponed to the following day, the 18th, when it was renewed, as follows.]

I have always supposed, Mr. President, since this project has been seriously agitated, that if a case could be made out parallel to that of the necessity for the Western Railroad, the aid of the State would be given to it. I have had little doubt that if we had no other means of direct communication with the waters of the Hudson and the great trade of the West but through the tunnel proposed, we should at any rate make the attempt to open it,

even with all the difficulties before us that its opponents foresee. I have, therefore, read attentively all that has been sent to me, or that I have noticed in print, in favor of the project, to see how nearly the two cases resemble each other.

Before the Western Railroad was opened, we had no direct avenue, by land, for trade with the West, except the common roads. We now have three. We had no means of bringing flour by land from the Hudson but in wagons, at the cost of three dollars a barrel or more; and by means of that road we reduced the cost to about one tenth part of that. The difference was great. We now propose to open a new road for the purpose of reducing the cost from thirty-one cents per barrel to twenty-two cents, (more likely to be over twenty-five cents,) and the difference is *not* great. But in order to make even this reduction, such as it is, it is indispensable that the quantity to be transported should be greatly increased, as low rates of freight depend mainly on quantity. The first inquiry of importance, then, is, what quantity of produce from the West can we receive with advantage in the market of this State? There are various articles besides flour; but as that is, perhaps, the most important, and has been called by the friends of the project "a key to the whole trade," we may as well use it as an illustration.

#### BOSTON, AS A MARKET FOR FLOUR.

Before the Western Road was opened, we received at Boston large quantities of flour arriving coastwise from New Orleans, Richmond and Baltimore, for the supply of the interior towns of this State and part of New Hampshire, and for the supply of Maine, in part, and of the British Provinces, as well as for our ships bound on foreign voyages. Now, the towns in the interior are supplied almost entirely by the three great lines of railroad, with the cross roads between them, so that they depend no longer on the market of Boston. The country is supplied before the city. The trade with Maine remains, for the present, much as it was, and we cannot look for any material increase there; because the people of that State are engaged largely in shipping, and as their vessels, bound on freighting voyages, dis-

charge their cargoes at New York in numerous cases, and then return light to Maine to refit, they can take flour from there at very low freight. They thus carry from there a considerable portion of what is wanted, and will continue to do so. The communication, too, which they are opening from Maine with Canada, by railroad, will have some effect in preventing any increase of our trade in that quarter. As large quantities of flour are now received in Boston by railroad from Canada, that flour is shipped from here for the supply of the British Provinces, because Canadian flour is admitted there free of duty ; while ours is subject to a colonial duty of twenty-five cents at Halifax, forty cents in New Brunswick, and even higher elsewhere. On the whole, then, Boston is not now so great a market for flour as it has been ; and in the statements made, to show the necessity for the tunnel, cause and effect have been made to change places. The business in flour at Boston is not falling off because the means of transportation from the West are inadequate. The business of transportation is falling off because the *demand* is diminished here for Western flour. It deserves remark, too, that the diminution of business in flour at Boston is produced by causes which have contributed so materially to the prosperity of the city, by promoting that of the State at large, that if this had been foreseen as a consequence, it would still have been a profitable arrangement for the city, to consent to part with a portion of that trade avowedly on these terms.

When we hear, then, that the business on the Western Railroad is declining, and that there is little more of freight through at this time than one half of what there was in 1847, (the year of famine in Ireland,) a consideration rises that has an important bearing on the question before us. If the route which requires this tunnel had been decided on, instead of that selected for the Western Railroad, there would probably have been shown, at this day, much such a falling off in business there, as now appears on the Western Road. For if it be supposed that such a saving could have been made on the proposed route as to prevent the opening of other roads, I shall probably convince the impartial, before I sit down, that the supposition is a mistaken one. Those other roads being built, however, they will be used to divide

the business, whether it be with profit to the stockholders or without.

These, then, are the circumstances under which it is proposed to make the tunnel, in order to promote the prosperity of Boston and of all Massachusetts. And how is this effect to be produced? Even at a low rate of freight, how are we to enlarge the market? The country trade with the city is greatly diminished; and what is lost cannot be regained. The same may be said of that to the British Provinces. The trade to Maine may be increased possibly a little, and not much. We are told, however, that a great trade is growing up with California and Australia, and that large quantities of flour will be wanted for it. But, in truth, there is a great practical difficulty on that head. The Western flour generally cannot be carried, without serious injury, twice across the tropics, in a long voyage to California; or once across, and through a long voyage afterward, to Australia. There is but little flour that has been found yet to bear such navigation, and that is brought here coastwise from Virginia. A careful selection, even from Southern brands, must be made. It is not merely a question of latitude. In one shipment of 1,100 barrels of Southern flour, but not of the brands alluded to, 1,000 were found, on arrival in California, to be so much injured by the voyage as not to pay the freight. The wheat that is suitable is said to be raised on a peculiar soil, and is called "stronger" by the bakers. It requires more water in the kneading and makes a lighter bread. Other wheat, if kiln dried, may be used with the same security, but is said to lose weight very much in the process. I hear it said near me that there is flour brought from certain parts of Ohio and Missouri that will answer as well. Why is it not used, then? The commercial witness of the petitioners stated to me, as a grievance, that the merchants of Boston had been compelled very lately to pay a dollar and a dollar and a half per barrel above the regular market price for the choice Southern brands that I speak of. Now, any of the Western flour that should be selected as a substitute could be brought here from Albany at three days' notice, at thirty-one cents a barrel; and why was it not done, if that would answer, to prevent extortion? Some brands of flour from the West are far more valuable than others,

for use by bakers here, but not suited for exportation so far as we are yet informed. But however all this may be, long before we can open the tunnel in any way, California will supply her own wants, and Oregon will supply Australia. We see by the last accounts that forty thousand acres of wheat are sown in California this year; and the agricultural land there is so productive that it is estimated to yield forty bushels to the acre.

On the other hand, it probably *would* be an advantage in the trade to Brazil and South American ports generally on the Atlantic side, so far as that goes, to have Western flour here at a lower rate, as it can be carried into the tropic with safety, if sold there at once for use.

In regard to our trade with England, the additional supplies that are now coming from Canada, will, probably, be adequate to any increase in that direction; for unless there be injury to the harvest, England does not receive much from any quarter, and her supplies of manufactures to Canada are to be paid for, as far as possible, in flour. The trade between them through Massachusetts, as appears from statistics furnished by our late Collector in his letter to the merchants of Boston on retiring from office, is rapidly increasing, with incidental advantages to us; but the quantity of Canadian flour is increasing as fast.

#### THE TUNNEL COMPARED WITH OTHER PUBLIC WORKS.

The demand being thus limited, we can derive no material advantage from reduction in the mere cost of transportation from the Hudson, unless the reduction be so great as to cause a decided change in the course of trade. An offer to transport cotton to Canada for nothing would hold out no temptation to send it there, because it would be in the wrong place; and so it would be with flour at Boston beyond the supply required. The class of commercial men in Boston who are most urgent for the tunnel are commission merchants, naturally desirous to increase their sales by giving every facility to consignments of produce from the West, and to the purchase of merchandize here for return. They are a highly respectable and meritorious class of men; but it is

necessary to examine their statements with something of precision that we may not attach an undue importance to them here. I have, of late, taken some pains to present my own views openly, rather more to the friends of the measure than to its opponents, because I desired that, if my arguments could be refuted, it should be done before I troubled the Senate with them. The consequence has been that I have received several written communications on the subject, and have had a conference of some hours with the counsel for the petitioners.

In one of the letters sent me, a hope is expressed that we shall not place ourselves in the absurd position of those who once talked, in ridicule, of "De Witt Clinton's Ditch," and lived to see its completion and its grand results. I think we are in no danger, as we have a very different case before us. When he and his associates undertook the great Canal of New York, it was, doubtless, regarded as an agreeable incident, though not a leading motive, that it might benefit the commission merchants in the city; but not by the petty rivalry now proposed, in which one party is to gain advantages to the detriment of another. A leading consideration was, the prosperity of the city of New York by an impulse from trade newly created, by a clear *addition* to the commerce of the State and of the world. This depended on another, which was the opening of the vast and fertile region of Western New York, that immense products of her own soil might reach the sea. Beyond this, too, were the aspirations of a noble, a patriotic ambition, to open an avenue to the sea for the commerce of the great lakes.

How is it with us? Is it to bring into use some valuable product of our own soil, which could not reach the sea by any other means, that we are to make the tunnel? Not at all. It is the product of other States, chiefly, that is to pass through us as a sieve. If it were for great products of our own, we might all think alike on the subject. Is there the same grand object in view with us to rouse a lofty patriotism to exertion, for the benefit of sister States? Not so. With their produce once on the Hudson, they need no aid from us to get it forward. It is the privilege of selling it for them that we have in view, the permission to fetch and carry for others and to take their orders.

## SAVING IN DISTANCE.

Do I overcharge the statement ? or, do I underrate the advantages that are offered us ? Let us see.

Here is a pamphlet of 78 pages, containing a report of the hearing on this subject before the joint Committee of the Legislature. I have been awake over it after midnight more than once since it was laid here for our examination ; and its developments are conclusive with me against the project, unless it can be shown that I misapprehend them ; of which, as I have said, I am very willing to be convinced.

A comparison between the two roads, the Western as it is, and the new one through the tunnel, as it is intended to be, is, of course, to be looked for there. The actual distance over the Western Road, from Greenbush, on the Hudson, opposite Albany, to Boston, is 200 miles. The distance from Troy to Boston, over the new road proposed, will be 186 miles. The actual difference of distance, therefore, is fourteen miles. But in the report it is called twenty-two miles, because the distance by the Western Road is cast, not from Greenbush or Albany, but from Troy, which is higher up the river. Why this is done, I do not understand, for the Western Road can have flour or other produce from Albany to bring on, and at as low a price, without using the additional distance to Troy. But it is so set down, and being desirous to avoid altercation on small points, I so take it, with the single remark, however, that if the Western Road is supposed to run from Troy, and not to begin at Greenbush, opposite Albany, all questions of difficulty about a ferry between Albany and Greenbush are waived. Whatever advantage the new road will have in starting from Troy instead of Albany, and that is supposed to be something important, the Western Road will have the same. The latter is subjected, at present, to two miles of carriage by horse power for any merchandize in Troy ; but a short tunnel, which is now in progress under another Company, will soon obviate that.

Let us call the difference of distance, then, as it is stated, to be . . . . . 22 miles.

The grades of the Western Railroad are higher and the curves shorter than those on the new route are to be, and these disadvantages, being reduced to miles according to certain tables that are given, are taken as equivalent to a further addition in length of . . . 43 miles.

Thus making an excess on the Western Road of . . . 65 miles,  
over the route of the Troy and Greenfield Road,  
which is to be . . . . . 186 miles.

The measure of the working power required on the Western road, then, is . . . . . 251 miles,  
instead of the 200 miles of positive distance.

#### SAVING IN COST OF TRANSPORTATION.

If we were to concede this addition of 25 per cent. to the actual length of the Western Road, in order to cover the disadvantages which it is supposed to labor under, then I understand that each one of those 251 constructive miles may be passed as easily and as cheaply as each mile of the 186 on the new route. The petitioners suppose that the actual cost of transporting a ton of goods or a passenger one mile will be only half a cent. There is reason to think that this is much too low. But supposing that they are correct, then the cost of a ton or passenger over the new route of 186 miles will be 93 cents, and over the Western Road, now called 251 miles, will be 125½ cents. As there are not quite ten barrels of flour to a ton, the cost on the new route will be about 10 cents a barrel, (the counsel say 10 to 11 cents,) and over the Western Road 13½ cents. The saving in cost of transportation by opening the tunnel, then, even if we take the figures of the counsel for the petitioners and their engineer, will be only three cents and a fraction in bringing a barrel of flour from the Hudson to Boston! Sir, I made this statement recently to a warm advocate of the bill before us, and he remarked, what I think every body else must admit, on such a statement, that "this is no saving worth making a tunnel for!" But he went at once,



as I supposed he would, to repeat my statement and ascertain how far it could be refuted. He soon came to me, with the eminent counsel for the petitioners, to convince me that it was erroneous. I said, "If sixty-five miles are not a sufficient addition to cover the disadvantages of the Western Road, how many more miles will you have?" I was told that the difference could not be reduced to miles; and a scheme was laid open of local or way business to be monopolized by the new road, to the utter defeat of any rivalry from the roads already made, of which I can only say that of all the plans that I have known to fail, in the varied experience of my life, I have rarely heard of any that looked more like dreamy speculation than that. I do not dwell on its details, because others can do so if they see any advantage to be gained by presenting them here. Since the interview that I speak of, however, the engineer of the petitioners has published his statement, with the table, in one of the newspapers, and it confirms my calculation, excepting that he asserts that the sixty-five miles are gained between the Hudson River and the Connecticut only. So be it. I shall show that this advantage, which is equivalent to only  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cents on a barrel of flour, is all that can be gained, because it will always be as easy and as cheap to bring merchandise or passengers from Springfield to Boston as from Greenfield to Boston. There is one grade on this side of Springfield fifteen feet higher than any on the other route, and it may require the use occasionally of an extra engine; but the distance is less from Springfield to Boston than from Greenfield over the Vermont and Massachusetts and the Fitchburg Roads.

I repeat, then, that the whole saving by the tunnel route cannot, by the showing of the petitioners, exceed three cents and a fraction on a barrel of flour. The only error that I can discover, is, that the addition of sixty-five miles makes too large an allowance. But if that be admitted for argument, according to the best information that I can obtain, all the difficulties on the Western Road are fairly met and largely provided for. If I am in error, and it can be shown that the difference in cost on the two routes will be even twice or three times what I say, let it be shown accordingly.

Whatever the saving on the new route may be, however, we come to the inquiry, what will be the effect, for changing the course of trade, of the lowest rate of freight which the petitioners expect to establish?

In the pamphlet of 78 pages, that I speak of, containing a report of the hearing before the Committee of the Legislature, half a page only, on the last leaf, is given to testimony on the commercial bearing of the measure proposed. It is from one witness only, a commission merchant, dealing chiefly in produce from the West, but without personal experience in ~~freight~~ *foreign* commerce. He says,—“The cost of transporting flour to New York is about twenty cents less than to Boston. New York has great advantage over Boston on this account. If we could get flour within ten cents per barrel as cheap in Boston as in New York, it would greatly benefit the city; it would increase exports to Europe, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. There have been a large number of vessels sent from this port to California and Australia, laden in part with flour. The shipments of flour to Liverpool are mainly from New York.”

Now supposing him to be correct in the belief, that “it would greatly benefit the city” to have flour only ten cents higher in Boston than it is in New York, how near are we likely to come to that, on the plan proposed by the petitioners? A few words will be sufficient to show that, on their most favorable supposition, we shall still be fifteen cents above New York.

I find in the Railway Times a letter from one of the petitioners, Peter Clark, Esq., who is, I believe, a person of great experience in railroads, in which he says that merchandise can be brought from Troy to Boston by the new route at two dollars per ton, and leave a fair profit. The President of the Vermont and Massachusetts Railroad being warmly interested in the project, and hearing that Mr. Clark has expressed such an opinion, addresses him a note inquiring whether that opinion is correctly reported; and Mr. C. answers that it is so, and that he is confident that it can be done, if there should be 200,000 tons of merchandise annually, (which is twice what has ever come over the Western Road, even in the year of famine in Ireland,) and 100,000 passengers, (about three times the number that ever came over the Western Road).

If Mr. Clark is right, the charge for transporting a barrel of flour from the Hudson to Boston, then, would be about twenty-two cents.

#### COST DOWN THE HUDSON.

Now, since this bill has been under discussion in this house, I have seen, here in Boston, the owner of a large quantity of flour sent from Cleaveland in Ohio to Albany, who came here to ascertain whether he had better let the flour come on to Boston for sale, or send it to New York. He stated that the freight was to be fifty-five cents per barrel, if he received it at Albany, or sixty cents if he should choose to have it delivered in New York,—the place of its delivery being at his option. Here, then, is an actual transaction to show the freight down the Hudson River to be only five cents. It is also a matter of common information that the freight from Albany to New York is rarely more than “a York sixpence” ( $6\frac{1}{2}$  cents) per barrel, and it is sometimes much less. If the petitioners could work cheap, then, by obtaining the enormous quantity of freight and the number of passengers which they dream of, and thus bring the merchandise at two dollars a ton, they could not attain the object proposed in this testimony. With a charge of about twenty-two cents from Troy to Boston and only about one third of that from Troy to New York, we should, still, be fifteen cents or more above New York. If the flour were brought here at *one* dollar per ton, which is to be the mere cost on the road, (and, as I think, much less than the cost,) without any profit to pay dividends or interest, we should still be, usually, five or six cents above New York. And if the Directors of the four roads which make up the line from Troy to Boston should be so obliging as to do it for nothing at all, bringing flour over the road in New York, from Troy to our State line, over the road through the tunnel to Greenfield, and over the Vermont and Massachusetts and the Fitchburg Roads, with no charge whatever to cover expenses, then, we should be only five or six cents below New York. Even that would be found to offer no great inducement for vessels to come on this side of Cape Cod for the flour. A few might come, and not many; for we are on the wrong side

of the Cape,—a stubborn geographical fact of potent bearing in these matters.

But the Directors of these roads are not going to bring flour here for nothing. It will not be brought merely for actual cost over the new road which it is now proposed to make from Greenfield to the State line of New York, whatever others may do for rivalry; for that road must have income to pay interest on the loan that is to be made for the tunnel. It may seem to some persons absurd to dwell a moment on the supposition that any one could think of such a thing as transporting merchandise from Troy to Boston for little or nothing. But they have not yet heard the plan that I have alluded to for drawing such surprising profits from the local business on the new line that it will enable the Directors to pay their interest and even offer a drawback of part of the freight to the purchaser of Western flour in Boston, provided he will ship it! This is not set forth before the Senate as part of the scheme of the petitioners, but one may hear it elsewhere from those who are in favor of the grant. It is necessary, therefore, to take into view some characteristics in which the trade of Boston differs from that of New York, and which are not to be controlled by a trifling difference in the cost of flour.

#### BOSTON AND NEW YORK COMPARED.

New York, from her position, has become commercially a great central point for the Union, and for a large portion of our foreign trade. Boston is geographically only a central point in commerce for the larger part of New England. New York is, of course, a great place for agencies. Besides the business which may be called her own, and which would make her a large city at any rate, she is employed in transacting the business of other people; and this makes her the most populous city of the Union. The business of Boston is necessarily original in its character, growing out of the industry and enterprise of the people of Massachusetts and of those who move in from neighboring States. She is a principal; employing, to no small extent, the agency that I speak of in New York, and giving directions what shall or shall not be done there.

A voyage is planned quietly in Boston. The ship is fitted for sea without noise or bustle, and sails, perhaps, for the other side of the globe. At the end of ten or twelve months she returns to New York; richly laden, very likely with teas and silks; and then the bustle begins. The cargo is to be held or sold, as orders may be given from Boston. The proceeds are to be disposed of in conformity to orders from here. The profits belong here and are remitted here, and the ship comes round here to be dismantled and quietly refitted for another voyage. The basis of the whole proceeding is very likely to be intelligence which the merchant of Boston has acquired by personal experience in the distant region to which the vessel is destined.

I speak from personal knowledge in this, having resided for ten years in New York, representing there some of the most enterprising and successful merchants of Boston, until I was as familiarly known among directors of banks and insurance offices as I am here; and it was within my own observation that Boston capital was, as it still is, at the bottom of much of the stir that is seen there. When I have gone into Wall street and inquired what was going on, the question has been put to me, in reply, "Who should know if you do not? You seem to be directing an important part of what is going on."

I beg to be understood as speaking with entire respect of New York. She has, as I have intimated, business of her own growing out of the sagacity and enterprise of her merchants sufficient to make her great; but the peculiar activity and a great portion of the increase in population visible there, arises in the way that I have described. It seems to me idle to compare Boston with New York by increase of numbers, while they differ so widely in the particulars mentioned. Boston has long been growing rapidly, and continues to do so; fast enough, I should think, to satisfy her reasonable wishes. It does not seem to me desirable that her population should be swelled to a vast multitude, not easily controlled by wholesome regulations, perhaps, under institutions like ours, if the increase is to come from mere agencies like a considerable proportion of that in New York. Boston had but 18,000 inhabitants in my childhood. I have seen her population doubled three times over, and it is now going on to be doubled a fourth

time. She has become large enough to possess the characteristics of a great city, and since that is so, I see no reason for concern. It certainly was desirable that she should become so large that no one need be troubled with the impression that each person knew every body's business. But, now, she has attained that degree of magnitude. No great performer of any description, no eminent lecturer, no traveller worthy of distinction would come to the United States without including Boston in his range of visits to the great cities of the Union. If a person desires to fill a large space in the public eye, by living for show, he may be gratified here. If he wishes for privacy, he may live as retired as if he were in any other city of the United States, or in the woods of Berkshire.\* Why, then, should we be concerned at the growth of other places, if we are prosperous? It is said that only three hundred houses were built in Boston the last year. I do not know the truth of this, but what then? If we could have a return of all the houses that were built in the environs the last year, for people who transact their business in Boston, and of new warehouses in the city, we should find a very different account. The truth is that the stores are encroaching annually on the dwelling-houses, and people are in a manner driven for residence into the country, where the railroads furnish great facilities of access. Street after street is given up to business for warehouses, till at last the encroachment has come within view from this house. The Masonic Temple is taken for business, and all the inhabitants of Temple Place, opposite here, may consider that they have received notice to remove. But if proof be wanted of our prosperity, let any one look at our wharves, and (beside the old places for ship building,) at the ship yards on East Boston and Chelsea, where a fleet of clipper ships, the admiration of the commercial world, has been launched, within three years, from places that were milk farms but recently, to be sent on such voyages as I have described.

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\* This passage has been represented as if a wish had been here expressed that Boston might always be confined to the diminutive state, convenient for gossip, from which it is here asserted that she has already emerged.

## PROSPERITY OF THE STATE.

And from this view of the city, which exhibits such prosperity and growth, let us look abroad through the State, and regard her in her two-fold position with respect to the rest of the Union, in territory and in political power. We hear a great outcry that she is losing ground, and particularly in comparison with New York, so that something *must* be done to sustain her. Beginning with square miles, at one end of the list of the States, which vary in extent from about 1,000 square miles to more than 100,000, we find Rhode Island, Delaware, Connecticut, New Jersey and Massachusetts to be the five smallest in successive order. Beginning at the other end, with the division of power as the States are represented in Congress, we find the five greatest to be New York, the "Empire State," coming first, Pennsylvania, the "Keystone State," next, then Ohio, the greatest free State of the West, and Virginia, the "mother of States and Presidents;" while Massachusetts stands with them, the fifth in order. With scarcely 8,000 square miles of territory, she is found still by the side of Virginia, eight times as large, in this season of prosperity and power, as they stood together in the time of revolution and danger. In the new apportionment of representatives under the last census, only two of the old States do more than to hold their own position. Pennsylvania, with all her great internal improvements by canal and railroad, is one, and Massachusetts the other. Each of them gains a representative. New York loses a representative by the result of growth for the ten years, and Massachusetts gains one! Now, Sir, it seems to me to be an insult to common sense\* to say, in such a state of things as this, that we ought to make a great struggle, in a measure of questionable character, to prevent Massachusetts from falling behind in proportion to the State of New York.

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\* This expression has been repeated without the least reference to the connection in which it was used, with the result of the late census, and represented as if the assertion had been, that it would be an insult to common sense to say that either the city or the State would be benefited by any thing that might be done to promote their prosperity.

If any one is surprised at this result, and desires to know how it should be that Massachusetts continues to grow in numbers while she is constantly sending out emigrants to the South and West, and to all parts of the commercial world that are reached by American ships, he may find an explanation by looking again at the census. There are columns there showing the number of those residing in any one State who were born in other States of the Union. There are two States remarkable in this particular. New York, of course, is one; for people naturally remove there from the other States, to take part in the varied intercourse that she maintains with all of them. Massachusetts is the other. She receives recruits from the neighboring States of the North, who, regarding her metropolis as the central point of New England, desire to come here. And let them come! The lines on the map which mark the boundaries of State government should be no barriers against the entrance of those who desire to participate in the advantages which by the geography of the country belong naturally to them as well as to us, but which the division of territory leaves in our possession. We bid them welcome to join with us and enter on the commerce of the ocean, to which we hold the avenue. Even if they come to share in the distribution of the offices which the common government of the nation has established in this metropolis of New England, so long as they are good men, suited to the places to which they are called, we bid them welcome still; cheerfully recognizing their right to share in benefits incident to that importance which we have gained in part by intercourse with them and from internal resources common to them and to us. But, however any one may choose to account for it, the fact is clear, that Massachusetts is not receding. Those who leave her may look back upon her still, with all the satisfaction that has ever been felt by those who have regarded her as their home and pointed to her as such; including Presidents of the United States, heads of departments in the General Government, two recently of the highest distinction in the department of State, and foreign ambassadors, three in succession recently representing us at that Court in Europe, where, perhaps, we should be most desirous of appearing advantageously, with eminent success.



### SUPPOSED REMOVAL OF COMMERCE FROM BOSTON.

We are told that our great commercial houses are going to New York. What is there in all that? Stated with precision, it is, not that our great houses are leaving us, but that they find it convenient to establish branches. It is the consequence of our exuberant growth. Massachusetts makes more than she wants. When there is competition among the buyers to get the goods, they come here fast enough. When we have more goods than we can readily sell, and become ourselves competitors on the other hand, we employ our outposts of agency. But purchasers usually prefer to deal with a principal rather than his agent, believing that an agent acts usually under limits that might be somewhat relaxed if the principal were on the spot. The principal, too, looks more exclusively to his own concerns than agents sometimes do, and at New York gains facilities in finance, also, that are not always to be found here. We are, therefore, only conforming to a necessity that always existed since we became manufacturers, but which is found to increase with the increase of business. Five and twenty years ago we tried "New England sales" here, in the sanguine belief that purchasers would assemble at stated periods and clear our warehouses in a day. But the plan was a failure. An association formed to promote it, has been kept alive to this day; and holds an annual meeting, with no result but a dinner, partly paid for from a small remnant of its funds, and an annual conclusion that the channels of commerce are not easily to be changed.

We are told that our young men are going away. So they have always been going away, from a natural spirit of enterprise, to secure that elsewhere which they could not gain here by any change of circumstances that lies within our control, tunnel or no tunnel.

### EXPORTS OF THE UNION IN FLOUR AND GRAIN.

We are told by the majority of our Legislative Committee, who report this bill, what a vast amount of produce reaches the Hudson from the West, and how small a portion of it we bring here;

and, then, they add,—“This is humiliating to Massachusetts!” Is it? I am at a loss to know why, any more than it is humiliating, as some people think, that we raise so little wheat of our own. Massachusetts knows how to do better than to transport what she does not need, under the orders of others. She takes what she wants for her own use, and leaves the owners to do as they please with the rest. She is too wise and independent to act from a fear of their comments. When we talk of humiliation, however, it would be well to bear in mind that she would be certain to meet it, if we should undertake this tunnel and fail to complete it! When we talk with so much ease of raising the Western merchandise that is to arrive here from little more than 50,000 tons, now received over the Western Road, to 200,000 tons, it would be well to think of the humiliation that we might feel if we should contrive to get that quantity, or a quarter part of it, here in flour, (50,000 tons being equal to nearly half a million of barrels,) and then find that we could not sell it! Such a glut for one year would give Boston a name and expose her to ridicule from which she would not recover for years afterwards. Of course, any great addition to what we now receive must come in flour. The wool, leather, &c., that we require from the West, for our manufactures, find their way here now, and cannot be increased much, except as our manufactures increase. Now, 150,000 tons of flour would be equal to nearly a million and a half of barrels; and this would rather exceed the average quantity annually exported from the whole Union for twenty years past, leaving out one year of famine in Ireland,\* and including three other years of great scarcity there. We cannot expect any such addition in quantity, then, for the purposes of foreign trade.

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\* Since these remarks were made, the question has been put,—“If all this be true, and we are not to become great exporters of flour and grain, what is to be done with the vast quantity that is to be produced in the West?” The only answer seems to be, that we shall use most of it, as we have done, for our own consumption. In general, each nation raises its own breadstuffs. When there is a poor harvest in England, and there is a great stir in Europe because she is importing grain, the importation rarely amounts to five per cent. of her usual product. Her importation from all the world in such cases is usually not more than what is equal to six or eight mil-

## CONTINUATION FROM TUNNEL OVER OTHER ROADS.

Yet an inquiry into the character of the roads that are to make out the whole line from Troy will show that this immense increase is indispensable to the low rates of freight that are talked of, and that if the city or the State needs a new impulse, this tunnel can-

lions of barrels of flour, and much of this comes, of course, from the north of Europe. We are acting as General Jackson once advised that we should, whether it be in consequence of his advice or otherwise. He placed agriculture first among the great interests of the nation; but he said it would never do for us all to be employed in tilling the soil. We must create a market for the surplus within our own borders, by establishing manufactures, he thought; or, we should be in complete subjection to other nations, both in buying and selling. This is what we are doing. The single fact that the blast furnaces and iron mills throughout the Union are once more in successful operation, after long depression, probably keeps the price of flour where it is at this day. But, in truth, the increase of our population is greater than the increase of wheat in the Union, as appears by returns of the last census.

The following tables will be found interesting and convenient. They are taken from the Boston Atlas of June 2d. The editor of that paper has, heretofore, when in Congress, collected and published in his speeches valuable statistics on the subject, and seems to keep his attention alive to it. It will be observed that there is no great increase in the export of flour for twenty years, leaving out four years of scarcity in Ireland, and that the increase is very unsteady; while there is a great and steady growth in the export of manufactures, excepting four years of depression.

Exports of wheat and flour, reduced to bushels, reckoning five bushels to the barrel, with the value of the same for twenty-one years, from 1831 to 1851 inclusive.

Years.	Bushels.	Value.
1831.....	9,441,090.....	\$10,461,715
1832.....	4,407,899.....	4,974,123
1833.....	4,811,061.....	5,642,602
1834.....	4,213,708.....	4,560,379
1835.....	3,944,742.....	4,446,182
1836.....	2,529,062.....	3,574,561
1837.....	1,610,898.....	3,014,415
1838.....	2,247,096.....	3,617,724
1839.....	4,712,080.....	7,069,361
1840.....	11,198,365.....	11,779,098
1841.....	8,447,670.....	8,582,527
1842.....	7,237,968.....	8,292,308

not give it. The road through it comprises only forty-four miles of the route. It is to be continued westward to Troy by a road in New York, is to emerge eastwardly on the Vermont and Massachusetts Road, and be continued over the Fitchburg Road to Boston. Instead of half a cent a ton or passenger per mile, it now costs on one of these last roads, the Fitchburg, more than a cent,

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Years.	Bushels.	Value.
1843.....	4,519,055.....	4,027,182
1844.....	7,751,587.....	7,232,898
1845.....	6,365,866.....	5,735,372
1846.....	13,061,175.....	13,360,644
1847.....	22,314,431.....	32,183,161
1848.....	12,631,679.....	15,863,284
1849.....	12,067,599.....	13,037,430
1850.....	7,535,901.....	7,742,315
1851.....	11,028,397.....	11,543,063

Value of the export of manufactures and of wheat and flour for twenty-one years, compared.

Years.	Manufactures.	Wheat.
1831.....	\$5,804,199.....	\$10,461,715
1832.....	5,424,014.....	4,974,123
1833.....	6,888,229.....	5,642,802
1834.....	6,013,385.....	4,560,797
1835.....	6,937,999.....	4,446,182
1836.....	6,915,748.....	3,574,561
1837.....	7,811,848.....	3,014,415
1838.....	9,010,358.....	3,617,724
1839.....	8,019,271.....	7,069,361
1840.....	10,613,767.....	11,779,098
1841.....	10,775,586.....	8,582,527
1842.....	9,769,857.....	8,292,308
1843.....	7,354,726.....	4,027,182
1844.....	9,680,534.....	7,232,898
1845.....	11,007,121.....	5,735,372
1846.....	11,482,854.....	13,360,644
1847.....	11,847,288.....	32,183,161
1848.....	14,717,175.....	15,863,284
1849.....	12,947,705.....	13,037,430
1850.....	17,145,203.....	7,742,315
1851.....	22,209,262.....	11,543,063
Total.....	\$212,376,329	\$186,740,962

and on the other, over two cents per mile. Whatever they can do, the Western Road can do. What the Western cannot do, they cannot do. The annual returns, which are made under oath by all the Companies, and have been laid before us, show that the cost of transportation on the Western Railroad is about as low as on the best roads of the State. The Western Road is under one Company, and is equal in length to a combination of three of the roads on the proposed route, which is a great advantage. Such combination would be of peculiar importance to the new road now proposed, to avoid opposition in interest. This road, which is to be forty-four miles long, is to be considered, I understand, as fifty-four miles in the division of receipts. That is, the tunnel, four miles in length, is to be considered as fourteen miles, in consideration of increased cost. But what security is there that such an arrangement will be permanent? I shall now show that if it were so, something more would be necessary to secure the Commonwealth for the use of her credit.

#### UTMOST PROBABLE RESULT FROM THE TUNNEL.

After what has been stated, unless it can be refuted, no reliance can be placed, I think, on the expectation of 200,000 tons of merchandise for the new road between Troy and Boston. If the scheme of drawing away from the Western Road every ton that it now receives from the Hudson, to Boston or back, the quantity being something over 50,000 tons, be admitted as feasible, and the supposition admitted that it may be raised to 100,000 tons, impartial people will probably think that more is allowed than will be realized on the new route. As to passengers, there passed the last year to and from the Hudson 35,000, and it is supposed that if the fare be reduced to two dollars, 65,000 more will come and go. How this inducement is to operate to such an extent, it is not easy to imagine. An increase of business, even as large as is hoped for, is not likely to draw them; for business is very easily managed by mail and telegraph in these days, with only an occasional visit from the principal. People who travel for pleasure generally go where they prefer to go, without regard to a small difference of fare. And people whose time is important probably

would not come out of their way to Boston, if they were to receive two dollars instead of paying it. It would be a liberal allowance to suppose that all the passengers were drawn from the Western Road and increased to 50,000. What will the whole amount to? At half a cent a ton per mile, for cost, and the same for profit, 100,000 tons and 50,000 passengers would yield, as profit, for the forty-four miles of the road proposed, through the tunnel, only \$33,000. But we are told that ten miles more are to be allowed for the tunnel in the division of receipts. This would make \$40,500, and if we allow \$10,000 for mails, (supposing that the Western Road is to lose the mail contract also,) it would be \$50,500 for profit. But the interest on the loan guarantied by the Commonwealth will be \$100,000. Where is the rest to come from? We are told from local business. Let us look a little at this local travelling and business. But allow me, first, to remark that, while I have, all this time, been arguing on the supposition of the counsel for the petitioners, that half a cent a ton or passenger per mile would cover the cost of transportation, I have not met one practical man acquainted with business on railroads, whether for or against this project, and I have talked recently with several, who believed this supposition to be correct. I believe even Mr. Peter Clark does not venture to say that. He thinks that two dollars a ton would leave a fair profit, which is a safer mode of expression; but to make the assertion, he is obliged to couple it with his enormous estimate of business to be expected. If that advantage could be obtained, probably the rates on the Western Railroad would be much lower than they are.

#### LOCAL BUSINESS.

In regard to local business, suppose that the tunnel were now completed and the road open to-day. We are told that the town of Adams, on the western side of the Hoosac Mountain, and Shelburne and Coleraine, on the eastern side, would send here a large quantity of manufactured goods. Suppose they should, what would become of them? The great complaint, now, about our own manufactures here, which necessarily come first to Boston, is, that they are sent forward to New York. Would not a large

portion of those coming from the towns that I mention, go also to New York? Of course they would. And they can go there now. I presume they do; and that we should have but few of them, if the tunnel were now finished. A railroad from Adams opens the way, crossing the Western Railroad, to New York. Another passes down the Connecticut River, also on the way to New York, from Greenfield adjoining the towns of Shelburne and Coleraine. The other towns in that region consist only of farming and grazing land, and I presume that much is not expected from them.

#### DETRIMENT TO WESTERN RAILROAD.

This great local business, then, that is to help out the business to and from Troy and Boston, is not, after all, to be found on the immediate line of the new road, but is to be drawn through a wide range of country and in a great measure from the Western Railroad, a road in which the State has a deep interest. First its long business is to be taken from it, and then its local business. The scheme reminds one of a case that might serve to illustrate the spirit in which the Commonwealth would seem to act, if aiding to build up such a rival to her own property. When traveling at the South, a few years since, I learned that a steamboat on the Mississippi, called the *Diana*, having passed, shortly before, from a certain point in Arkansas, which is a favorite place of starting for a trial of speed, and reached New Orleans in rather a shorter time than any boat had ever run that distance before, a man was then building a boat, which he swore, "by the Eternal," should beat the *Diana*, or he would blow her out of the water and himself in her; the wonder being that the *same man owned the two boats!* While this new road is not likely to do good by effecting any favorable change of importance in the State, it would be likely to do some mischief. Our people have embarked, debts included, more than sixty millions in railroads, no one of which has any income to spare; and it is better for the community to pursue such a policy as will make that enormous investment more productive, than to add new competitors in the business. Professedly, the local business talked of for this

road is to be drawn in a great measure from others, North and South ; the basis being cheap freight on flour. When I have stated that there can only be a gain of three cents and a fraction, I have been told that even three and a half cents is an important difference on a barrel of flour. How does it happen, then, that while three and half cents are so important on the Connecticut River, a difference of ten cents at Boston is thought to be so trifling between us and New York ? If three and a half cents, or double that, if six or seven cents, on a barrel of flour, would offer such an advantage that, by means of it, when the tunnel is finished, Greenfield might outgrow Springfield, how are we in Boston to rival New York with a supposed difference of ten cents in price, (which I have shown must be at least fifteen cents,) against us ? Sir, this glowing picture of business on the way will not, I think, bear examination any more than the other part of the scheme, for diverting what is equal to the whole export of the country, in flour, to Boston. But if it proves any thing, it is, that the tunnel is far more likely to do injury to the Western Railroad than it is to do any good whatever to this city, or to the State at large.

#### CAUTION FROM RESULT OF WESTERN RAILROAD.

In the report of the testimony before the Legislative Committee, there is a passing remark by one witness (Mr. Degrand) which deserves attention. He was called to testify concerning the summit cut on the Western Road and the rate of charges there. That witness has credit for sagacity, and I think deservedly so. He took an early and warm interest in the road and helped to sustain it in disastrous times. It was he, I believe, who proposed and ably urged the establishment of the sinking funds for the debt and liabilities of the State incurred for the road. He has always been a great advocate for low fares and charges ; and his advice, in that respect, has been adopted and carried so far, if not on the Western Road on others, that the extreme was reached, and necessity compelled the Directors to raise them. He now speaks with disappointment of what he finds to be the result of all that he did for so great an undertaking ; and it appears



that if he had foreseen it, he "would not have started a peg in urging it forward." What shall we infer from this? Is the road mismanaged? Is the President ignorant and unfit for his place? Are the agents incompetent or unfaithful? If so, where are the Directors on the part of the State, chosen annually in our Convention of the two Houses, to look after our interests? It is not so. There is no mismanagement. But, with all his foresight, it seems he was merely mistaken. Like men of greater sagacity than he, or I, or any one here, he finds that human judgment is fallible, in railroads and in commerce, as the lives of distinguished men show it to have been in statesmanship and war. As he was mistaken once, he may be so again. And as he "would not have moved a peg," if he had foreseen the whole, I think our only safe conclusion from his testimony is, that we had better not "move a peg" in this business, until we hear clearer reasons for it than have yet been given.

One may hear strange things said, by the advocates of this measure, in the streets and about this chamber. Whether they are to be urged here I cannot say, but as I am speaking in anticipation of the friends of the bill, I am obliged to notice and answer some of them, now, that I may not be forced to trouble the Senate a second time in this debate.

#### INFLUENCE OF PRICES ON TRADE.

It is said that what we want is to "turn the scale" against New York; and that vessels actually go there from Maine for flour instead of coming here. How are we to "turn the scale" by a route that confessedly leaves us with a considerable difference of price against us? Suppose a coaster of 100 tons to sail from Maine for flour, after the tunnel is finished. The most desirable rate aimed at by the petitioners is that she might find it to be only ten cents a barrel cheaper in New York than here. Yet as she would carry 800 or 1,000 barrels, this is a gain of \$80 or \$100 to be made by going there, and quite sufficient to induce her to pass us by. If, as I say, the difference is to be fifteen cents, the gain is half as much more. Now, the last year we had an urgent application here to restrict the fees of

pilots ; and it was testified, as an inducement, before a Committee of the two houses, of which I was Chairman, that the mere difference in pilotage, a trifle comparatively, not a fourth of what I have mentioned in flour, was sufficient in some cases to cause vessels from Nova Scotia to go to New York instead of coming here ! How can we expect vessels from Maine, then, to come here with such a difference against us in flour ? When I assert that no reliance can long be placed on trade to California and Australia, whatever it may be just now, because one will supply herself and Oregon will supply the other before the tunnel can be made, even if five years will be sufficient to complete it ; I hear it answered, " Then we must look for some other new countries." And where, in the wide world, are these new countries to be found ? Is Massachusetts to make a tunnel for trade with countries that are yet to be discovered ?

#### MEANS FOR TRANSPORTATION WESTWARD.

I have been told, repeatedly, that there is pressing necessity for this tunnel, because means are wanted to transport westward the goods that are purchased in Boston, the Western Railroad being unable to do the business required ; that if the goods could only be carried away, western traders would be glad to come here and purchase their heavy goods ; and that you have on your table, Sir, a petition in aid of this measure, signed by dry goods dealers and others in Boston, whose capital exceeds thirty millions of dollars, and who urge the passage of the bill before us especially on this ground. I have been requested to see one of them, in particular, who, it was said would give me correct information on the subject. I have seen him. Availing myself of the early adjournment of the Senate, two days since, I went to his place of business ; and I believe that I shall throw light on the matter before us, in several important points, by stating just what passed. The firm occupies the greater part of three large stores, opened into one extensive establishment. It was, I may say in common phrase, a sight to see, showing the magnitude of the operations in business here. The principal partner was seated in a position where he had a view of every person who entered,

and of the direction that might be given to each purchaser, according to his inquiries. I told him that I had come in consequence of this petition signed by him, understanding that he could give me important information to aid me in deciding how to vote. He remarked that he really knew very little about the tunnel; and that he had signed the paper offered him, as he should any other, because he was informed that it tended to promote the prosperity of Boston, which he had much at heart. I told him that I was not surprised to hear this, and that I supposed others had signed it much in the same way; but that I understood that he could give me accurate information of the difficulties attending the transportation of goods westward from here. On that, he answered that he had much to tell me; that he could not say that he had a letter of complaint as often as every day, but such letters were numerous; that he happened to be answering one of the sort when he was applied to, to sign the petition referred to, and he did it the more readily on that account. He then offered to read me one. It was dated at Lexington in Kentucky. The writer complained of great wrong because the goods which he had bought here had not reached Cincinnati at the time fixed. He could not get them over from there in due time. His customers, therefore, had gone to Louisville and supplied themselves there; and his Spring trade, which might have been excellent if his purchases had arrived, had turned out ill. He, therefore, relied on the honor and honesty of the parties in Boston, who were answerable, for voluntary and prompt redress. He had suffered as much or more, he said, *in regard to his goods from New York*, but had no hope of justice there, if a lawsuit for damages could possibly be defeated! Of Boston, he hoped better things. I then inquired whether these delays, which seemed to be common to New York and Boston both, had really occurred on our Western Railroad. The principal of the firm was unable to tell me, but obligingly summoned his shipping clerk, a very intelligent person. I explained to him the object of the inquiry, and the importance of ascertaining with precision whether the trouble arose on the route between here and Albany, or on that between Albany and Buffalo. He answered that it was neither on one nor the other; that the delay had taken place between BUFFALO and CLEAVE-

LAND! I then inquired whether any case had occurred in which a customer of the firm had suffered from delay on this side of Albany; and he answered none. I asked if he knew of any such case among other firms, where the fault lay with the Western Railroad; and he answered that he did not. I expressed my readiness to receive any such information, if, on conference with other dealers, it could be furnished; but I have received none.

You have the whole story, Sir, and it hardly requires comment. All the papers on your table establish nothing to show that the tunnel is required to furnish additional facilities for transporting merchandise from here to the Hudson, on the ground of any delay on the Western Railroad; nor is there a tittle of evidence elsewhere, to that effect.

The commercial witness of the petitioners testified to nothing of the sort before the Committee. He speaks of some flour that was detained at Ogdensburgh; but every body knows that business was deranged on the Vermont Central Road by a fire which destroyed some of their cars and by other difficulties in its affairs; and the delay may have been owing to that. But it has no bearing on the point in question.

If any one will take the trouble to inquire into the real meaning of these petitions in aid of the bill before us, it will probably be found that they are to be taken only as the expression of a wish for any thing that is likely to promote the prosperity of the city, *provided that it is proper to grant it*. If any Senator will ask whether the subject has been thoroughly examined by those whose signatures he sees there, and whether they can assure him that, on the oath he has taken, it is his duty to vote for this bill, he probably will meet a decided negative. If we could make it out that it would be wise so to use the credit of the State that western produce could be brought here for the mere cost of transportation; and, as the cars must return, that goods purchased here, for the West, should be carried as far as Troy for nothing at all; the dealers here would, no doubt, be very well pleased. The nearer we can come to that, the better for them. Even ruinous rivalry between the roads might help their business. But they consider that the responsibility is with us. While they let us know their wishes, if it would not be proper to grant what they

want, they expect us to refuse it. They suppose that we are selected and placed here for our wisdom and intelligence ; and giving us credit, perhaps, for quite as much of either as we can claim to possess, they, like the rest of the community, expect that we shall exercise sound discretion. They do not offer aid themselves by taking stock in the tunnel route. The Tremont House was completed by the aid of business men, who wished that purchasers from a distance should have comfortable accommodations ; but they did not aid in building rival hotels. There was general contribution to make the Western Railroad, but nobody contributes to this. Yet the same spirit exists in the community as I have proofs to show, if necessary. The bill is guarded by some conditions that stock shall be secured and work done before the aid of the State is given. But these conditions may all be removed by future enactments, with such importunity as is used here.

#### FERRY AT ALBANY.

The ferry at Albany has been spoken of as causing a serious addition to the cost of transportation on the Western Road. The produce coming eastward, however, is delivered on one side or the other of the river, as the owner prefers, without additional cost, just as coal or cotton is delivered at one wharf or another in Boston, as is preferred, even at a loss sometimes of a day or more to the vessel that brings it.

Yet the counsel for the petitioners informed the Committee that he could prove this ferry to be equal to an addition of 100 miles in railroad travel. He had claimed an addition, before, of sixty-five miles for grades and curves, and has since said that is not enough. How much shall we add, then? Suppose we add about one half to it, and call this latter item also 100 miles. Then we shall have 200 miles of constructive distance, and 200 of actual distance. When I have alluded to something of extravagance in the argument of the counsel on this and other matters, I have been asked if I cannot allow a little for the zeal of an advocate in arguing his cause? To be sure, I can. But if his zeal makes 400 out of 200 so easily, I look elsewhere with greater care and precision, on that account, for the *truth* of the case.

## HIGH GRADES.

The high grades that have been spoken of require, perhaps, no further comment. The additional power that they render necessary can be furnished by two extra engines, the cost of which would be, with allowance for deterioration, only \$5,000 a year for each. In all these matters the main question is, what will be the comparative cost of freight. The Western Road now brings flour at 31½ cents the barrel. The petitioners do not pretend that they can bring it for less than 21 cents, and probably no impartial person, who looks into the subject, will believe that they can pay interest on their loan even at 25 or 28 cents.

You may hear a calculation, Sir, that the Western Road and the Worcester, making the route from Albany to Boston, cost, together, more than the four roads which are to make up the route from Troy to Boston will have cost when the tunnel is completed; and, therefore, they can afford to carry merchandise cheaper on the latter route. There is less in this than might be supposed. It only affects dividends. The main question still is, what will each road carry freight for. With sharp rivalry on the two routes, there will probably be little profit on either. But the tunnel road must charge something beyond actual cost, for the interest on its loan, and the Vermont and Massachusetts cannot go much below two cents, instead of half a cent in mere cost, without a greater business than it is likely to get. If the Fitchburg and the New York road are to work for cost only, the Western can do it as well as either.

## MACHINE FOR TUNNEL.

I remarked that it was not my intention to throw doubts on the means of making a tunnel, when one is really wanted. But it was not my intention to admit that the one proposed could be made within the time or for the sum proposed, although I have only undertaken to show that if it could be so made, there would be no such results from it as are anticipated. I believe that it will cost more money than is said, and require more than double the

time. I said that I should cast no ridicule on the machine that has been invented for boring. I know that our people, who work in stone, show a remarkable faculty for overcoming difficulties, and it would not surprise me if this machine were found to be of some use, though it deserves remark that nobody seems disposed to try this invention, for tunnels elsewhere. But one thing should not be passed without particular notice. It is probable that even the petitioners are not more confident of its success than of Mr. Ericsson's. His success is held up by their counsel, in argument, as a reproach against all those who are slow to believe in new improvements. Now, if Mr. Ericsson is really successful, it cannot be long before we shall have propellers on his plan between Boston and Albany. As more than one half the labor and three quarters of the fuel necessary for steam are to be saved by his mode of using heated air, no railroad through the tunnel could come in competition with it for cheapness, nor secure any important advantage in speed, for the mere transportation of merchandise.

#### SECTIONAL CLAIM FOR AID.

It is urged, in a tone of complaint, that this measure is wanted for a part of the country for which nothing has been done, while the State has done a vast deal for the benefit of others by aiding the Western Railroad and lending its credit elsewhere. That road, however, was not made to oblige the farmers of Berkshire and Hampden, although it was an agreeable incident that they were to derive benefit from it. If there had been no other object in view than their profit, the road would not have been made up to this time. In making it, the State was not asked to go below daylight and encounter unknown difficulties in the dark. While she has shown readiness to open proper avenues and has assisted to do it, until the railroad interest may be supposed able to take care of itself, she has given no encouragement to expect her aid in unprofitable rivalry, like what is proposed here. All that could have been reasonably asked of her, unless the Hoosac route had been selected as the first avenue to the Hudson, would have been assistance to make a common railroad from each side of the

mountain, toward the Connecticut on the east, and toward the Hudson on the west. I should be as ready as most people to give moderate aid for such an object, if it were shown that it is indispensably necessary in order to secure a share in the general prosperity for the towns in that quarter. But the reverse is shown. Their growth and importance are dwelt upon, in the case of the petitioners, to show the value of local business on the route. They seem to be already on a footing with the average of the State. I hear it said, to be sure, that much of the farming land there has not increased at all in value; and the same may be said of thousands of acres within twenty miles of this city, which are not favorably situated in reference to the railroads that centre here. They are really of little more value, if any, than they were in the last century, before we had any supplies of agricultural produce from the West to come in competition with our own products.

It seems to be thought that there is improper interference here from the Western Railroad. It does not seem so to me. I have no interest to prompt me in defending its Directors; but their remonstrance is such as I think it was their duty to make, and it contains important arguments, coinciding with some views that I have now presented, which have not been answered or noticed. If the route through the tunnel had been preferred and opened by the aid of the State, those who might have had the management of it would certainly have neglected their duty, if they had failed to present a true statement of objections in opposition to any similar claim that might have been made here for aid in opening a rival route; where the Western Road now runs, for instance.

## CONCLUSION.

I look for great evil to come from the rivalry that would be engendered by this measure, in poverty of equipment and increased danger to life, against which we have recently had solemn warning; though, on the Western Road, there have been as yet but few accidents of importance, since one or two at the outset.



Common arithmetic shows that the scheme is unsound and uncalled for, in the present condition of the State. It shows that we can save but three cents and a fraction in transporting a barrel of flour from the Hudson to Boston; and that the price in New York will be, then, fifteen cents per barrel lower than the price here. If any Senator means still to maintain that we need a tunnel to aid us, on the pretence that we are going behindhand, I trust that he will prove that I am in the wrong, by the census, the State valuation, and the course of business.

Unless that be done, I shall feel bound to vote under the conviction that no emergency exists requiring a new impulse in our affairs that would involve such cost and risk, and that the impulse could not be given by the tunnel, even if it were required. The attempt to show that this case resembles those in which States have heretofore wisely lent assistance, appears to me to be a total failure. Since we have discontinued the policy of using the public credit for the aid of railroads, any petition for it, now, should present a case of greater benefit to the whole community, as a result, than most that have preceded it. But this has far less of that than most of them, to recommend it. With the exception of moderate local benefit to one section, all that we find in it is a poor plan of opposition between neighboring interests, calculated to take away from some one nearly all that is given to another, instead of a clear addition to the instruments of wealth, tending to the benefit of the whole; and while it would be "humiliating" and even culpable, in this age of progress, to neglect any means within our control for promoting the prosperity and growth of both city and State, the inaptitude of this scheme for any such purpose is a prominent objection to the grant of aid that is desired.

FROM THE FITCHBURG REVEILLE OF MARCH 16TH, 1853.

[Reported for the Reveille.]

REMARKS OF HON. T. G. CARY, OF SUFFOLK,  
IN THE SENATE OF MASSACHUSETTS, ON THE GENERAL LAWS FOR  
ESTABLISHING MANUFACTURING CORPORATIONS, MARCH 1, 1853.

MR. PRESIDENT :—A Senator from the Committee on Manufactures, who thinks that this law should be brought into general use and that special acts should be refused, told us, yesterday, that the opponents of the law had probably never examined its provisions; that they probably never would give it proper attention, until they were compelled to do so, by the rejection of their petitions; and that they would then find that they had no reason for complaint. He, therefore, gave us a comparison between the special acts heretofore granted, and the provisions of this general law. I was glad to have the explanation from one of its friends. I take his view of it; and I think it obvious, from that view, why people are unwilling to use it, and why those who have much property will prefer to invest it elsewhere, even out of the State, rather than in manufactures here according to its terms.

\* \* \* \* \*

My remarks are made for the purpose of showing that this general law tends to deter capitalists from taking shares in our corporations. But some persons seem to have an impression that the rich men of this State, and particularly of the cities, have made their money through the favor of this Legislature, in granting them acts of incorporation for manufacturing purposes; and that they are, therefore, in a manner bound to do with it somewhat as the Legislature directs. \* \* \* \* I shall presently show this supposition to be an egregious error.

\* \* \* \* \*

I deny that there is any partiality shown here towards the rich, or that the rich have been made so by the favor of the Legislature. Who are they? Look up and down this Beacon street where we are, and look over this city and regard the men individually. They will be found to be almost invariably what are called "self-made men," who began life with small means, most of them engaging in foreign trade, going abroad for informa-

tion, even among nations the most uncivilized and barbarous, and using that information with sagacity and success. They have collected here the wealth that they have gained elsewhere, much of it on the other side of the globe. They have employed that wealth here, by renewing their enterprises in navigation from our ports, in a way that has given impulse to all business, and increased the value of every farm in the State, and of every heifer and steer that helps to stock it. They have invested part of the property thus gained in factories, and given employment to tens of thousands. They have taken shares in railroads to open the interior, and in other public works. They have founded hospitals, and aided in the cause of education. While the stock-lists of the corporations would show numbers of such men, I might with confidence challenge any one, to show us in the list of proprietors of all the millions of property at Lowell, five men of any considerable property who can be said to have made their money by manufacturing.

I have in my mind, at the moment, a man well known in the councils of the nation for ability and wisdom, who lives in a beautiful house, near here, drives a fine carriage, or his wife does, and has every thing about him that intelligence can desire from wealth. He is President of two or three large manufacturing corporations, and concerned in others. And this man lived in the same house and in the same way, rich from his own acquisitions, when all Lowell was farming land, and not a spindle had been seen there. He did not grow rich by manufacturing, then.

A brother lives near him, of whom much of this may likewise be said, except that, now, too far advanced in age to take any share in the business of life, he is chiefly known for acts of wide beneficence; like another individual\* of the same description, whose late residence is within sight from this building, and who has closed a long life of usefulness and benevolence in peace and charity, with all mankind, to the sorrow of the unfortunate while we have been sitting here. Both of them might well say, on the bed of death, in the language of Job,—

“When the ear heard me, then it blessed me; and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me. Because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me; and I caused the widow’s heart to sing for joy.”

A similar instance is found in the distinguished statesman who lately represented the country as our ambassador in England. Many people would, doubtless, listen with amazement to the assertion that he did not derive his wealth through a commercial house always depending solely for business on its agency for factories. Yet it is perfectly well remembered that the house in question for some time declined any such agency, from an unwillingness to relax its attention to foreign business, which had made it

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\* The late Amos Lawrence, Esq.

rich. We must look behind any action of our Legislature, then, to discover the origin of that wealth from which he has founded and munificently endowed the Scientific School at Cambridge; contributing liberally, all the time, to other public institutions and works of charity.

Who was it, I might ask, too, who led the way in establishing Normal Schools among us? A merchant\* who had, no doubt, much to do with manufactures, but who was rich before. From whom have we had a house, I might almost say a palace, for the blind? From another, of whom the same might be said, with more emphasis. Who gave a hundred thousand dollars in one sum to the General Hospital, open to all parts of the Commonwealth, as much as to Boston? Another,† who had nothing to do with factories.

If we look into the second generation, to see what the heirs of such men do with the money which they inherit, we find instances that tend to establish a high character for them, as a class. The man‡ who moved forward, hand in hand with the Commonwealth, to establish the State Reform School at Westborough, was the son of one who had acquired all his great wealth by ships sent on long voyages into distant seas; and thus a part of his earnings was finally disposed of. Another,§ whose wants were provided for by inheritance, but whose active and sagacious mind had increased his property by his own enterprise, dying far away, childless and alone, when the ties of conjugal and paternal affection had been dissolved in the death of those who looked to him for protection, was found to have provided in his latest aspirations for the improvement of his native State. A noble fortune was left as a foundation for the Lowell Institute, which draws to us the philosophers and men of science of the Old World, while it elicits and liberally compensates the efforts of our own learned men. It may be heard from your Teachers' Institutes, Sir, with what gratification and improvement an occasional lecture is received there from distinguished professors, who never would have visited this country but for that munificent bequest.||

And such instances taken for illustration, do not show half the aggregate of general contribution for liberal purposes in the whole community, made up by the combined action of those who readily follow such examples, but necessarily contribute in smaller sums. With such a spirit apparent, when we hear it said that privileges are sought for by the rich to the exclusion of the poor, and when capital is represented as arrayed in opposition to labor, it really seems as if it might be said with greater truth, that the capitalist thinks more kindly of the laborer than laborers do of each other, except when they combine against their employer as if he were a common enemy. If our laws were framed to keep property in unbroken descent, by entailment and the like, there might be a reason to regard it with jealousy. But

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\* The late Hon. Edmund Dwight.

† The late John M'Lean, Esq.

‡ The late Hon. Theodore Lyman.

§ The late John Lowell, Jr., Esq.

|| The other persons alluded to are still living.

the accumulation of one man is divided and subdivided by those who follow him and soon disappears in the mass.

It is not my purpose, in the allusions that I have made, to claim for those who become rich among us any merit for fanciful or poetic disinterestedness. But it has been said here within a twelvemonth, by a late colleague of the Senator and a political associate of his, that it is not desirable to have large fortunes among us. Now, a true statement of facts tends to show that there is nothing in the mode of acquisition or the use of wealth here that is detrimental to any body; while there is much, both in the acquisition and the use of it, that promotes welfare and prosperity throughout the State, even if it be true that the rich manage their affairs merely as men of business, looking to their own advantage alone.

Suppose the largest stockholder in the corporations at Lowell, for instance, instead of liberally aiding others (as he has), had never assisted any one purposely, but looked solely to his own interest. Was it not, still, a benefit to the community that he acquired property elsewhere and planted it there in a way that tended to advance the value of land in that vicinity a hundred fold or more, to increase the numbers and activity of our population, and of course to increase our political influence, as well as the general valuation of the State? Before the commencement of this century, in a spirit of vigorous enterprise, he went abroad into various countries, established a commercial house at Canton (from which a score of rich men have issued since, and brought back fortunes to the United States), and was one of the foremost to open a great trade, which enables us to say, among other things, when our prosperity is attributed to the staples of the South, that of the wealth of New England, more, probably, has been gained by carrying rice from the islands in the Indian Ocean to feed the Chinese, than from the rice of the Carolinas. In a long series of enterprises fitted out from here, he gave advantageous employment to various branches of business; and in investing the property thus acquired, helped to furnish profitable occupation in factories for which millions on millions have been paid in wages; while no laborer there, man or woman, ever lost a dollar that was due for work, by failure or delay of payment. Does any man believe that if the action of such an individual, for half a century and more, could have been withdrawn from here, and his enterprises had been carried on from New York or Philadelphia, this State would be the better for his absence?

Again, if any great undertaking should be stopped for want of means,—if a railroad company, for instance, should become embarrassed, and, requiring the aid of capital for relief, should apply to some agent in financial transactions to procure money to a large amount,—to whom would such an agent be likely to resort? I do not mean for assistance to a company who build their road where it never can be profitable to the stockholders, though it may increase the value of property all along its line—but to aid a company who can offer good security and liberal remuneration for a heavy advance. The agent or broker would be very likely to go to some man who

in youth began the business of life by a sea voyage as a mariner, rose to be master of a ship, went among savages, perhaps, on the shores of the Pacific, at the risk of his life, traded for sea-otter skins, or the like, carried them to China, converted them into teas and silks, which he brought home, and renewing his enterprises from here, sent others to repeat the operation. Do we find cause to regret that his accumulations are here as a resource in such emergencies? Certainly not. By arbitrary restrictions we may drive capital away, but when it is gone, and our people begin to feel the want of its presence, they will hardly believe that their true interests have been consulted by this course.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Senator says, that this general law was no party measure. I have no doubt that he honestly believes what he says; and yet I think that he is mistaken.

\* \* \* \* \*

And what do we find to be the consequence of its provisions? The petitioners for the bill now before you tell the story. They are mechanics, praying to be incorporated in the old way, for the purpose of making steam engines on so large a scale of work that the aid of capitalists is necessary. They are asked why they do not organize under the general law. They answer, that capitalists dislike its provisions and will not join them on the terms required. If we refuse their prayer, then, the work that they seek the means to execute here, must be done in some other State, under laws more favorable to general prosperity than our own,—and our mechanics are made the victims of blind opposition to capital.

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